1:Franken et al M, G-5 (ca. 1913-1948)1960
OF7 Balinese OF7

balians usada, Balinese doctors possessing books on botany and medicine (*usada*).[11] In this connection mention may also be made of the prohibitions against buying the meat of animals that have died and against the use of opium.

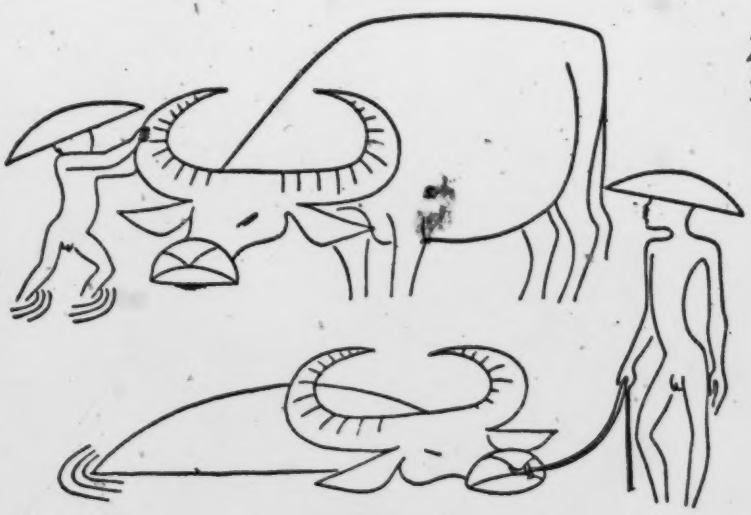
As was said, the Tĕngananese do not farm their lands themselves. *Sawahs*, gardens, and coconut groves are almost all operated by so-called *pĕnyakaps* as sharecroppers. An exception is the *kayu naung*, which yields palm wine: a large share of the Tĕngananese occupy themselves with producing this wine. However, they must leave the making of sugar or spirits from it to persons from outside the village, since that is prohibited members of the *desa*. The consumption of palm wine is high. Mention should also be made of the production of oil from candle-nuts for household consumption and for dyeing yarns. The characteristic oil presses are to be seen standing along the main streets.

The wives and daughters of the *desa* members are forbidden to do any trading. Even day-to-day purchases at the *pasar* they have to leave to people who are not (or no longer) eligible for *desa* membership.

As regards livestock, there are various regulations restricting the keeping of cattle. No cows are allowed inside the residential *desa* (though they are permitted in the gardens), and members of the *desa* may not take care of them. On the other hand the consumption of beef is not prohibited. Buffaloes are owned only by the *desa* as a whole: they are used exclusively as offering animals, and their dung serves as medicine. Horseback riding is forbidden inside the *desa*. Every woman who is a member of the *desa* raises pigs, but the keeping of boars is a privilege of the *pasĕk*, who derives certain advantages from it. Pigs may only be sold to other members of the *desa* with the knowledge of the *desa* association. Only sick and mangy animals are permitted to be sold to the Chinese pigdealers, likewise with the consent of the *desa*. Almost all types of livestock are of importance primarily as offering animals. During the *usaba* in the fifth month (Kalima) of the Tĕngananese calendar, no less than fifty pigs are offered. Poultry are among the smaller offerings.

2: Covarrubias R-5 (1930-1933) 1938
OF7 Bali OF7

CHAPTER III



231
291

THE COMMUNITY

THE VILLAGE

The capitals of the princes' districts, the seats of the regencies, are commercialized half-European, half-Chinese towns like Den Pasar and Buleleng; but the true life of Bali is concentrated in thousands of villages and hamlets. With their thatched roofs they lie buried under awnings of tropical vegetation, the groves and gardens that provide for the needs of the villagers. Out of the chartreuse sea of ricefields they surge like dark green islands of tall palms, breadfruit, mango, papaya, and banana trees.

361
[621]
[245]

Underneath the cool darkness, pierced only by the shafts of sunlight that sift through the mesh of leaves, are the houses hidden from view by interminable mud walls that are broken at regular intervals by long narrow gates. All the gates are alike: two mud pillars supporting a small roof of thick thatch, giving access

351

2: Covarrubias R-5 (1930-1933) 1938
OF7 Bali OF7

351 to each household by a raised doorstep of rough stones. In front of every gate is a stone bridge, or, simpler still, a section of coconut tree trunk to ford the deep irrigation ditch that runs invariably along both sides of the road.

361 A simple village consists of family compounds, each com-
[351] pletely surrounded by walls, lined on each side of a wide well-built avenue that runs in the direction of the cardinal points; from the mountain to the sea, the Balinese equivalent to our "north" and "south." The villages grew as they spread in these direc-
[491] tions, and the Dutch had only to pave the main streets and extend them through the ricefields to obtain the five-hundred-mile net of automobile roads that covers this small island.

363 The Balinese, being still essentially pedestrians, took good care to shade the roads with large trees, and every morning and every evening one sees the people in the streets, men going to work nonchalantly beating rhythms on their agricultural implements, or returning from the fields overloaded with sheaves of rice heavy with grain. Poised women come and go with great loads or shiny
[482] black clay pots on their heads. If it happens to be market day in the village, at dawn the roads are crowded with husky people from the near-by villages who come to sell their produce — piles of
[438] coconuts, bananas, or vegetables, pottery, mats, baskets, and so forth — carrying on their heads even the table that serves as a stand. If there is a feast in the village temple, the people parade
[292] in yellow, green, and magenta silks with fantastic pyramids of
[796] fruit and flowers, offerings to the gods, in a pageant that would have made Diaghilev turn green with envy.

291 Naked children play at the gates by the bell-shaped baskets
●231 where the fighting cocks are kept. Each morning the baskets are
857 lined out on the street so that the roosters may enjoy the spectacle of people passing by. Small boys wearing only oversize sun-hats drive the enormous water-buffaloes, which in Bali appear in two colours, a dark muddy grey, and a pale, almost transparent pink,
231 an albino variety. A water-buffalo will not hesitate to attack a
857 tiger; their ponderous calm and their gigantic horns are awe-

2: Covarrubias R-5 (1930-1933) 1938
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inspiring to Europeans, who have been told that their odour infuriates the buffaloes. They have often charged white people for no apparent reason, although the smallest Balinese boy can manhandle the great beasts. They love to lie in the water and be scrubbed by their little guardians, who climb all over them and hang from their horns when they take them for their evening bath. The buffalo tolerates the children perhaps as a rhinoceros tolerates the birds that eat the ticks on its back.

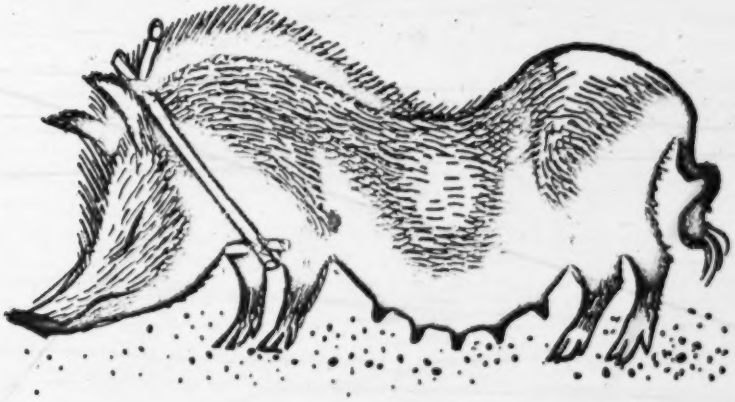
The Balinese raise a fine breed of cattle, a beautiful variety of cow, with delicate legs and a long neck, that resembles overgrown deer more than ordinary cows. Ducks are driven in flocks to the ricefields, where they feed on all sorts of small water animals. Their guardian is a boy or an old man who leads them with a little banner of white cloth on the end of a bamboo pole topped by a bunch of white feathers. This he plants on the ground and he can then go away for the rest of the day, sure that his ducks will not wander away. At sundown the trained ducks gather around the flag waiting to be taken home. When the duck-guardian arrives, the flock is all together, and at a signal from the flag, they march home, straight as penguins and in perfect military formation.

All Balinese domestic animals are rather extraordinary; chickens are killed constantly by rushing automobiles, but their owners make no provision to keep them from the road except the low bamboo fence that bars the house gate, and that is intended, perhaps, more for the pigs, which in Bali belong to a monstrous variety that surely exists nowhere else. The Balinese pig, an untamed descendant of the wild hog, has an absurd sagging back and a fat stomach that drags on the ground like a heavy bag suspended loosely from its bony hips and shoulders.

The roads are particularly infested with miserable dogs, the scavengers of the island. Most dogs are attached to the house they protect and keep clean of garbage, but they reproduce unchecked and there are thousands of homeless living skeletons, covered with ulcers and mange, that bark and wail all night in

2: Covarrubias R-5 (1930-1933) 1938
OF7 Bali OF7

231 great choruses. The Balinese are not disturbed by them and sleep peacefully through the hideous noise. The curs are supposed to [776] frighten away witches and evil spirits, but I could never discover how our neighbours knew when it was an ordinary mortal and not a devil that the dogs barked at; they always awoke when a stranger came into the house at night. Such dogs were undoubtedly provided by the gods to keep Bali from perfection.



361 The Balinese make a clear differentiation between the [311] dwelling-grounds and the "unlived" parts of the village, those for public use such as the temples, assembly halls, market, cemeteries, public baths. The village is a unified organism in which [621] every individual is a corpuscle and every institution an organ. The heart of the village is the central square, invariably located in the "centre" of the village, the intersection of the two main avenues: the big road that runs from the Balinese "North-South" and a street that cuts it at right angles from "East-West." Consequently the crossroads are the centre of a Rose of [823] the Winds formed by the entire village; the cardinal directions mean a great deal to the Balinese and the crossroads are a magic spot of great importance.

All around and in the square are the important public places of the village; the town temple (*pura desa*) (A), with its hall of

2: Covarrubias R-5 (1930-1933) 1938
OF7 Bali OF7

Somewhere in the outskirts of the village are the public baths and the cemetery, a neglected field overgrown with weeds and decaying bamboo altars, with its temple of the Dead (c) and its mournful *kepuh* tree, a sad and eerie place. The bathing-place is generally a cool spot shaded by clusters of bamboo in the river that runs near the village, where all day long men and women bathe in the brown water in separate modest groups. Some villages have special bathing-places with fancy water-spouts and low walls of carved stone, with separate compartments for men and women. Tedjakula in North Bali is famous for its horse bath, a special compartment that is larger and even more elaborate than the baths for the people.

THE MARKET

Important towns have great utilitarian markets of cement and galvanized tin where shrewd Arabs and Chinese keep regular shops of cloth and imported knick-knacks, but the average desa holds market under the shadow of the *waringin* or under square shades of straw mats like umbrellas. A few people sell there every day; the " big " market takes place every third day of the religious calendar. There are " market associations " organized in groups of three desas that work together, holding market in rotation every day in each of the three villages. The women are the financiers that control the market; one seldom sees men in it, except in certain trades or to help carry such a load as a fat pig. Even the money-changers are women, who sit behind little tables filled with rolls of small change, *kepeng*, Chinese brass coins with a hole in the middle, worth a small fraction of a cent (about five to seven to a cent according to the current exchange). These coins are strung into rolls of two hundred, called *satak* (one string of twenty-five cents). Prices in the market vary according to the buyer; they are lowest to the villager in his home town, slightly higher for the Balinese of other villages, and considerably higher to foreigners. This is customary and understandable if one takes into consideration the communal spirit of the village

2: Covarrubias R-5 (1930-1933) 1938
OF7 Bali OF7

coconut wood. Generally one or two sides of the *balé* are protected by a low wall and between the house posts are built-in beds or platforms of wood with springs of bamboo, also called *balés*, where distinguished guests sit cross-legged to eat, or where, with a mattress added and screened by a curtain, they are put up for the night.

In Belaluar everybody was up even before the first rays of the sun outlined the jagged tops of the coconut palms, awakened by the raucous crowings of the fighting cocks. In the indigo semi-darkness of the dawn the women were busily sweeping the yard and bringing water from the village spring. The first thought of the men was for their pets; to line up the bell-shaped cages of the fighting cocks out on the road by the gate so that the roosters might "amuse themselves watching people go by." The cages of the cooing doves were strung up on high poles for them to enjoy the morning air and the sunshine, and the flocks of pigeons, trained to fly in circles over the house, were released for their morning exercise. As protection from birds of prey, they had small brass bells around their necks that produced various humming sounds as they flew round and round until they tired, when they came down to be fed.

After a refreshing bath the men started for the fields without breakfast, taking along a snack – rice boiled inside of little diamond-shaped containers of palm-leaf called *ketipat*. More substantial food was taken to them later if they had to remain in the fields all day, but they returned at noon for lunch if there was not much work or if the *sawas* were near. Meanwhile the women fetched sheaves of unhusked rice from the granary, spread them on the ground to dry in the sun, filled the *gebah* – the large water-basin in the kitchen – and started the fire for the day's cooking. A kitchen is a simple roof of coarse thatch supported by four posts, with a bamboo platform at one end – the kitchen table – and a primitive mud stove at the other. Often a crude figure is modelled out of the same clay of which the hearth is made to

2: Covarrubias R-5 (1930-1933) 1938
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782 trance of the family shrine, in front of the sleeping-quarters, in front of the little altar in the middle of the court, at the well if

[415]

Kitchen Utensils

there is one, and finally at the gate. The woman who distrib-
[231] uted the offerings was followed by the eternally hungry dogs, who unceremoniously ate the grains of rice as soon as the offer-

2: Covarrubias R-5 (1930-1933) 1938
OF7 Bali OF7

ing was placed on the ground. Nobody cared, however, since they were intended for evil spirits, which might, perhaps, be embodied in the dogs.

There were no set meal hours and they ate whenever they felt hungry. A little before noon the men returned from work after

Manner of Drinking

(design scratched on a bamboo drinking-bottle)

taking a bath in the spring or in a river and sat casually somewhere near the kitchen, often turning their backs silently on each other because a person who is eating should not be spoken to. Each was given his portion of rice with its complementary sauce in a square of banana leaf which he held in the hollow of the left hand while the right acted as spoon and fork. The use of dishes and cutlery is to the Balinese an unclean and repulsive foreign habit. Balinese who use plates invariably place a square

2: Covarrubias R-5 (1930-1933) 1938
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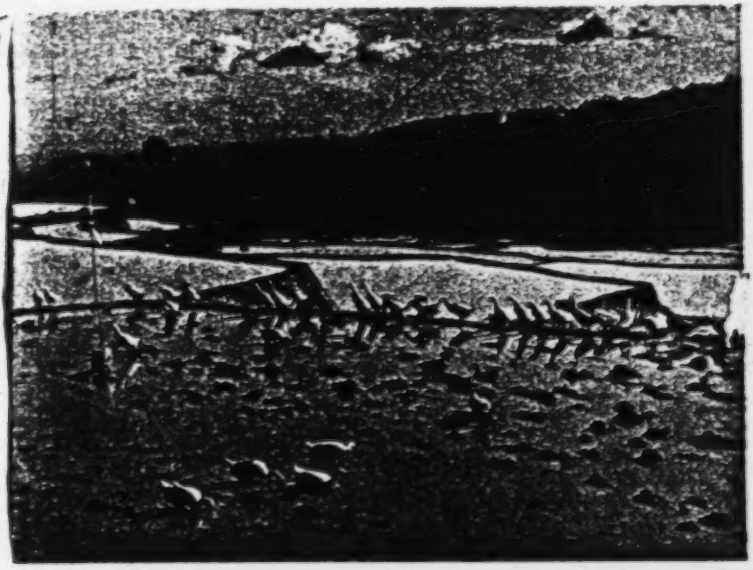

●231

Balinese ducks are trained to wait near the little flag on the left until their guardian returns from the fields to take them home

Pigs at feeding time

2: Covarrubias R-5 (1930-1933) 1938
OF7 Bali OF7

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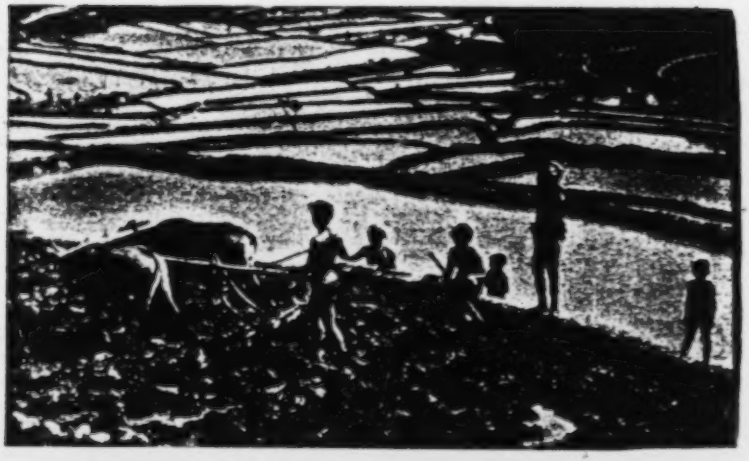

[541]

Oxen and a primitive plough are used in the ricefields

Ploughing can be turned to festive and to profitable uses, made to please the gods and to serve as a basis for bull-racing bets

2: Covarrubias R-5 (1930-1933) 1938
OF7 Bali OF7

541
231

285
415
231
541

Ready for the fight; the loser

[P. 406 (XXXII)]

5: Belo E-5 (1931-1934)1935 OF7 Bali OF7

*845 852 [783] On the twelfth day after the birth of the twins the ceremony *nyambutin* was celebrated in the *kubu*. After *nyambutin* in Sukawanä the usual child and his parents are sufficiently purified to be allowed to enter the temples. Although for the family of I Lèwèr there still remained thirty days of exile, during which they might not even enter the village, much less the temples, still these small offerings had to be made according to custom.

[302] [462] [285] During the last days the men of the village were busy at the *kubu* cutting trees into blocks for the chopping of the meat offerings, weaving rough trays of split bamboo, preparing skewers and sharpening knives for the feast. It is a part of the custom that the villagers must not only contribute to the offerings but lend their indispensable [476] aid in the making of them, for it is an array such as no single family could prepare alone. In return they are treated to a feast at the expense of the father of the twins. In the houses of I Lèwèr's erstwhile neighbors the materials were *845 852 [431] 252 collected. Each man sent his share, according to his means. If a rich man should send a poor contribution, he would be too ashamed! The women cooked the rice and formed it into little cones, and into cakes of varied shapes and colors, and of sugar and riceflour they made still other dainties for the gods and for the demons. They wove plates [285] of palm-leaf, and decorative fanshaped, circular, and trailing *sampéans* as top-pieces for the offerings, all of the young yellow leaf cut with a knife in strong simple design.

*845 186 852 The part of the men is the killing and preparation of the animal offerings. On the day before the ceremony they killed the water-buffalo, skinned it, and cut and cooked the meat in various ways. The next morning the calf, pig, [231] [267] goat, goose, ducks, chickens, and the three-colored dog ('red', black and white) were killed and made ready. At eleven o'clock in the morning I Lèwèr's neighbors were still busy finishing the last dozens of palm-leaf decorations necessary for the offerings. When all was done the splendid array was laid out upon the bare ground where I Lèwèr's house had stood, and they were enough to completely

6: Belo E-5 (1931-1934) 1935
OF7 Bali OF7

mine visited the temple on that day, accompanied by his two wives and two children, approximately eight and ten years old. All carried offerings and supplies of food and betel for the journey, but no member of the little group could be said to be heavily laden. They started "in the hour before dawn," which would be about five o'clock in the morning. When I arrived at the temple by motor they were seated outside taking their meal, having already made their prayers and presented their offerings. Shortly afterward they must have started homeward, for I passed them on my return, proceeding at an even steady pace along the road. At half-past three in the afternoon they reached home, apparently not the least exhausted by their walk of over fifty miles, as registered on the speedometer of my car. Even if one assumes that they spent only half-an-hour at the temple, they covered the fifty miles in ten hours, averaging certainly no less than five miles an hour. The road led up and down over several steep hills, and at least half of the way through arid fields, with no tree to give shade. This family, whose expedition I was able to time, was only one of hundreds visiting the temple on that day, and their excursion was in no sense unusual.

Physical Exertion and Well-Being

A great part of the land lying between the high mountain district and the shore is formed in longitudinal ridges which run parallel to each other, and no great distance apart. Between these ridges are the steep-walled ravines, where the rivers flow, and where are found most of the drinking and bathing springs. Villages are apt to be placed on the high ground, so that in inter-village traffic, walkers going North and South follow an easy up or down grade along the top of the ridge. But a person travelling East and West finds many a steep climb and precipitous descent along his path. Every member of the family is accustomed to go down at least once a day to the river or the bathing-place for his bath, and many must climb up and down several times in a day—the women and girls carrying water for household needs, the men going to and fro in their work in the steeply terraced rice-fields, the small boys escorting their special charges, the ducks and the water buffalo, down from the dry ground for their daily immersion. Mothers carry babies on their hips, at the same time balancing a forty-pound jar of water on their heads, yet never do they waver in their erect posture nor vary their slow even pace on the steep and often slippery incline. Little girls of five

6: Belo E-5 (1931-1934) 1935
OF7 Bali OF7

The feeling of modesty—no other words seems to apply—attached to eating does not apply to drinking, and anyone will drink anywhere, without making a fuss about it. Similarly no shame is felt for urinating, which is done by both men and women along the public roads, in the open fields, anywhere except within the housecourt or on holy ground. But for defecating the people retire to relative privacy, "where the pigs are," out of sight. The many pigs and dogs act as scavengers, and may be relied upon to do away with all the filth.

Where there are gushing springs, bathing places are constructed, with walls dividing off the place of the women from that of the men. When the rivers are used for bathing, the sexes divide into groups, the men taking the upstream position, the women the downstream. But within each group modesty is shown, and the genitals may not be exposed even to a member of the same sex. The men cover themselves with one hand, the women lift their skirts gradually, and suddenly plunge waist deep in the water. Dressing and undressing may be done in public by both men and women, for their clothes are of such a nature that they can be changed without immodesty.*

Manifestations of the Emotional Life

The Balinese are universally afraid in the dark, and the fear of *léjaks*, living male and female sorcerers in supernatural form, is intensified between the hours of midnight and dawn, when these creatures are supposed to roam. Even grown boys and men will not visit at night unholy places such as the graveyard, the crossroads, certain trees and bridges where supernatural manifestations are frequent. They are afraid to walk along the dark village streets at night, unless accompanied, but if a man must go alone he sings in a loud voice to frighten away the *léjaks*, or to keep his spirits up. His housecourt is his haven. The encircling clay walls, the high ceremonial entrance gate, and the magic strip of wall immediately within this gate (to block the path of evil spirits) give him a feeling a security, sleeping upon the open pavilions. But he prefers not to sleep alone. If he has passed the age when he wishes to sleep next his wife, he will take one or two of his little sons to bed with him. Small children sleep with their parents, grandparents, or huddle in a group together.

* For the breasts, of course, the women show no modesty at all. It is only the region from the knees to the waist which must never be exposed. The Balinese feel about exposure of the thighs of women as Westerners feel about their breasts, and a woman in a Western bathing suit is extremely shocking to them for that reason.

7: Belo E-5 (1931-1935) 1936 OF7 Bali OF7

at the crossroads, the graveyard; and only occasionally a pilgrimage to one of the temples of mountain-gods, sea-, lake-, and sacred spring-gods; proper and suitable celebration, with offerings and performances according to his means, of births, birthdays, tooth-filings, weddings, deaths, cremations, etc., in the family. As a rule it is only when some difficulty arises in the carrying out of the ordinary prescribed rites that the djabā turns to the Hindu high-priest, the Pedanda, for advice, and still more rarely, for his offices.

It has occurred to me that a study of one such ordinary Balinese—one of the 900,000 djabā—in his family relations, might be of value, not to lay down any rules, but simply as an illustration of certain common phenomena in the mores.

I have chosen, therefore, an ordinary family, in an ordinary village, lying halfway between the modern town, where the old customs are perforce breaking down, and the region of the old-style Bali-Agā villages, which in their isolation have preserved an order which is today more of a curiosity in Bali, not characteristic of the country as a whole. And so, although it must not be concluded that what has happened in this family is what necessarily would happen in any Balinese family, still the procedures may be taken as fairly typical—if one remembers that variations are great from village to village, and that the customs of the high-caste Balinese, as well as those of the Bali-Agā villages are not represented in the general picture.

A BALINESE FAMILY

Rendah is the head of his household, and therefore a pengajā, member of the village council. He owns his own pekarangan, a walled courtyard within the village limits, enclosing the shrines of his household gods, the living quarters of his immediate family, and the place of the pigs and fowls. He owns also a sufficient portion of the irrigated rice-fields surrounding the village for the maintenance of his family. The fields are tilled by himself, his brothers, and their sons when they are old enough. All the old people and the dependent women and children get enough to eat. If the crop is good, and there is rice left over, it may be sold in the market. The women cook and weave cloth (kamben) for the family, and carry up fresh water from the spring, night and morning. The small girls of five or six begin to help their mothers and aunts at this task, balancing a coconut-shell full of water on their erect heads. The little boys of the same age take charge of the ducks and the water-buffalo, driving them out into the inundated rice-fields at sunrise, driving them back to their shelters near the house-court, at dusk.

7: Belo E-5 (1931-1935) 1936 OF7 Bali OF7

children, who have no fixed sleeping places, but are apt to visit about with their elders.

In the balé siang-sangā, which is a sort of family sitting room, also without walls, a place is found for the younger brother Dog and his wife Rawi. There are three platforms, and the children may also sleep here if they please. When guests are spending the night Dog and Rawi give up to them the largest bed, on a slightly higher level, to do them honor.

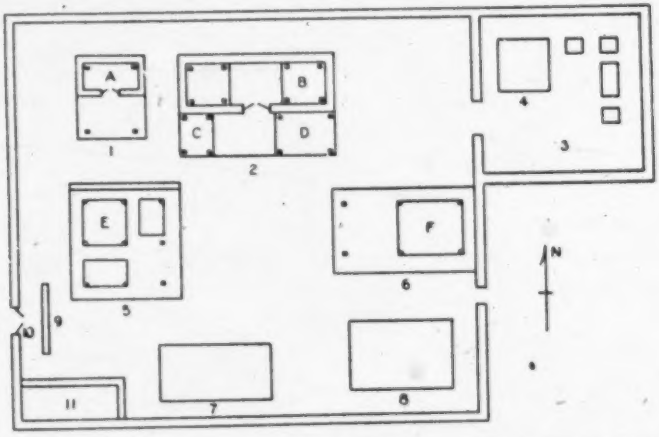

FIG. 4. Plan of the house of Rendah. 1, Balé Sākāpat, pavilion with four posts; 2, Metèn, house with inner room; 3, Sanggah, household temple; 4, Balé Piasan, pavilion for offerings; 5, Balé Siang-sangā, pavilion with nine posts; 6, Balé Sakanem, pavilion with six posts; 7, Paon, kitchen; 8, Djineng, rice storing place; 9, Aling-aling, magic wall; 10, Kori, gateway; 11, Pigs. A, Koti; B, Dajoeh, Ngetis; C, Rieh, Tjeremé; D, Rendah, Adā; E, Dog, Rawi; F, Kintil, Dapet.

Koti, the eldest sister who was married and divorced, sleeps in a little room in the balé sākāpat, which is reserved for her.

The kitchen stands opposite to the metèn. East of this is the high pointed-roofed djineng, the rice-storing place. Behind are the pigs and fowls. Immediately opposite the entrance gate, blocking the court from the view of passersby and the attacks of evil spirits, is the aling-aling, a single strip of wall. The gate is a sort of stile, covered over by a thatched roof—you go up steps, through a doorway, and down more steps onto the roadway without. Cut into the mud wall on either side of the gateway are small niches used for offerings.

Madura OE6
Bali OF7
Nias OD11
Batak OD5
Flores OF9

[391 cont.]

I 262 Bl Md [231] The animal food in the diet consists more of fish than of meat; this, too, is shown by the great importance of fishing and fish nurseries, while cattle raising is found only in a few places, such as Madura and Bali (and then chiefly for the European market). In addition, pork is a prohibited food for by far the greater part of the population as Mohammedans. This meat, however, is particularly favored among non-Mohammedan peoples, such as the Niassans, the heathen and Christian Batak, and the Balinese. The meat of pigs, buffaloes, and chickens is consumed mainly on festive occasions when these animals serve as offerings to the spirits, who, however, consume only the essence, the ethereal part of the food, and the material part remains for the celebrants. In general, the Indonesian is a very temperate, often frugal eater, but these feasts, especially the feasts for the dead, often degenerate into veritable orgies.

N Bt Bl [262] I [782]

Bt F [262] It should also be mentioned that in a few areas the inhabitants are very fond of dog flesh, for example, in a few parts of the Batak lands and on Flores, among others.

I 276 I [258] Luxuries. Among these the above-mentioned palm wine can be reckoned; it is far surpassed in importance [392] and general distribution by betel. The betel quid consists of a couple of leaves from the betel bush (Piper betle L.), which are brushed with a bit of fine shell-lime and then a piece of areca-nut and a piece of gambier are rolled up in the leaves. (Gambier is boiled out of the leaves of Uncaria acida Roxb., a climbing shrub; there are many gambier distilleries in the Riau Archipelago.) The quid is chewed for about a quarter of an hour, after which a quid of tobacco is put between the teeth and the lips. The chewing of betel produces an abundance of red-colored saliva; when princes go on a journey, a large golden cuspidor is carried along by a servant or serving-girl. The natives ascribe very favorable results to betel-chewing: relief from feeling hunger, a fresh taste in the mouth, clean breath, etc. In any case, it does not appear to have any harmful effects. Betel-chewing is common throughout the whole of the archipelago among both men and women. To offer a guest betel is considered

I [68 cont.]
342 over a middle section (3). There is little to say about the roof.

3. Van Hasselt, ibid., p. 154.

MI
342 It is often very high in proportion to the house. The shape of the roof of Malayan houses is peculiar. The ridge is concave in the middle and then runs upward into points at the ends.

We have said enough about the houses on piles and shall now briefly discuss houses on the ground.

d. Houses on the Ground, Their Layout

B
342 Before proceeding, however, we shall say a few words about
351 the houses of the Balinese. Dr. Jacobs reports that the houses,
364 umah, and yards are places for the collection of filth, unhealthy
417 and inhospitable sties. Fortunately, the Balinese spend a lot of time outside the house or sit and sleep in the pavilion pendopŏ (Bal. balĕ) in the yard, where many even spend the night. A Balinese yard, natah, is a large square surrounded by a wall, tĕmbok, of clay one and a half to two meters high. A narrow opening is the entryway [69] to the square, which is entirely filled with little houses made of wood or clay or kadjang matting and covered with atap, which represent the living quarters, as many dwellings as there are households, which usually all belong to
B one family. The space free of these little houses is filled with
● 231 garbage, human and animal excrement, piles of leaves, etc., and what is not eaten by pigs, chickens, and dogs wandering around stays where it is and gradually forms a dunghill. The huts themselves are small, stuffy, and low. Light enters through the door, and the cracks in roof and walls serve as ventilators. In the
B
342 center of the square, there is a kind of pavilion where guests are
574 received and where they sleep; this is the balé mambĕng, which
513 in cleanliness and decoration contrasts favorably with the rest.

access to communal lands by outsiders. Out-groupers may exploit such lands only after they have paid in advance a fee for the use of the lands, and continued to pay rent afterwards. In principle, they obtain usufruct for just one season. They may never buy, sell or inherit such fields. Nor may they receive such fields as security. And finally, under native law they may be forbidden even to enter upon the communal lands, or perhaps be subject to other disabilities, although this last power is today of doubtful constitutionality.

Outsiders must apply to the village chiefs for permission to use village land. To pave the way for a favorable response to such request, a little gift to the chiefs is good Indonesian custom. In certain law-areas it is customary to give a tangible token to the community at the beginning of the enterprise, so as to display the outsider's consciousness of the advantage he is about to realize on someone else's land. In Angkola, for example, when a group of people, who do not belong to the ruling village wish to get permission to set up a new hamlet in the area of disposal belonging to a regional community, their headman must bring in six water buffaloes. These are then turned to the profit of the whole regional community. And on Bali the population of the immigrant village of Kastala is nothing other than share-croppers on the fields of the people of Tnganan, the owners of the land. Generally, however, the practice is merely to give occasional token payments in addition to the initial compensation. This, too, is largely to symbolize the admission of advantage derived from someone else's property, because the payment may be very small, indeed. In Minangkabau the legal maxim "lembaga dituang, adat diisi" is sometimes explained as meaning that strangers owe acknowledgment and retribution to the community. Whatever earnings are brought in from this source go to both the chiefs and the people.

As against the rights of outsiders the community believes that its ultimate title is never impaired. Aliens cannot permanently settle on the land. Their relation to it must remain loose: the "orang menumpang" as contrasted to the "orang asal" among the Rejang. Only when outsiders have lived in the community for generations do they acquire a more clearly fixed title to their fields. And even then their rights readily give way to the rights of the community in any crisis. In addition, the descendants of the original village in a regional community, or the descendants of the founding lineages in a village, sometimes constitute a central group,

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the individual body, health and the rules of magic in life, the possession of goods, the relationship to offspring and to married couples, belong practically everywhere to the life-circle of persons, which is protected against encroachment.

B. INDONESIAN TERMINOLOGIES

The various injuries have their own names—sometimes original names, in the case of a closely related group of actions, such as all sorts of theft, although the native names for delicts are very elastic in their meanings, such as "dago dagi" (Minangkabau), meaning disobedience toward those in adat authority, and "kagau gau" (Buginese), meaning to do something bad.

The fines for delicts are established in a specific relation to the offense, which cannot be further explained; for example, three plates for an ordinary insult, three plates and a pig for a serious insult, ten plates for insulting a chief (among the Lawangan Dyaks). This is one sample of the relation between the delict and fine taken at random from thousands of others, all as inexplicable as this.

The fines for delicts frequently show their magic character in their insistence in naming the goods which are owed by the delinquent (so many buffaloes, so many slaves, for instance) and then, without objection, allowing these goods actually to be replaced by objects of small monetary value or by a sum of money.

The fines for delicts have their specific designation in various law-areas, for example: "bosi sebelas kepala tajau" (West Borneo), a pot of the value of ten heads (kepala—head, in Malay) and twelve detached heads, which is the fine not for one sort of delict but for a group of various delicts (probably equal in degree). The Toraja distinguish between offenses committed with the mouth, for which the fine is based on payment in chickens; offenses committed with the hand, for which the fine is based on the value of goats; offenses committed with the whole body, where the fine is based on payment of buffaloes. According to the seriousness of the offense, the actual fine for delict consists, for instance, of a chicken with three things in addition, or of a buffalo with five things added to it, etc. In the Balinese desa, many offenses are punished by a money fine. Thus each law-area has its specific delict and reaction pattern. It seems to be a general characteristic that in cases of theft (and other offenses against property) the fine consists of a payment of twice or several times the value of the stolen property.